

Art, Anatomy and Eroticism: The Human Body in Japanese Illustrated Books of the Edo Period, 1615-1868*

Ellis Tinios

[Ellis Tinios is Honorary Lecturer in History at the University of Leeds, England, and Visiting Researcher at the Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University, Kyoto. He is author of Kawamura Bumpō: Artist of Two Worlds (2003) and Japanese Prints: Ukiyo-e in Edo, 1700-1900 (2010). Recent and forthcoming articles include: "Warrior Prints: A Double-edged Sword", in Competition and Collaboration: The Utagawa School and Japan's Print Culture (2007), "The Fragrance of Female Immortals: Celebrity Endorsement from the Afterlife" (Impressions: The Journal of the Ukiyo-e Society of America, 27, 2005-2006), "Pushing the Boundaries: Kuniyoshi and China" (Impressions: The Journal of the Ukiyo-e Society of America, 31, 2010), and "Maruyama-Shijō ha gafu no mokuteki" 円山四条派の目的画譜 (The Purpose of Maruyama-Shijō School gafu) in Edo no ehon: gazō to tekisuto no ayanaseru sekai 江戸の絵本：画像とテキストの綾なせる世界 (Ehon in the Edo Period: A Splendid World of Interwoven Image and Text) (2010).]

Introduction

My current research deals with Edo-period woodblock-printed illustrated books intended for a non-specialist mass market. I am investigating their design, production, distribution and use. In this article I wish to consider the representations of the human body that we encounter in them. The wide range of schools, artists and subjects found in these books provides a rich source of material for study. Among the topics I will explore are: the contexts in which the unclothed body is encountered; the modes of representation employed by Japanese artists when presenting the un-

* This article is based on a lecture delivered by the author as a keynote address at the Twelfth International Conference on the History of Science in East Asia in a session hosted by the Rare Books & Early Manuscripts, History of Medicine Division of the National Medical Library, Bethesda, MD, on 16 July 2008.

clothed body; and what, if any, impact imported, illustrated European anatomical works had on them.

In *The Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting* (*Jieziyuan huazhuan*; *Kaishien gaden* 芥子園画伝), a Chinese book that circulated widely in Japan in the Edo period and had a great influence on Japanese artists, we read, “Figures even though painted without eyes, should seem to look; without ears, must seem to listen. ... Eliminate details to achieve the most natural expression ...”¹ This advice contrasts sharply with the humanist conventions observed by Western artists since the Renaissance. In the West, artists sought to express the ‘ideal’ through the meticulous representation of the ‘real’ shorn of all imperfections. A significant result of adherence to these conventions was that the training of artists in the Western academic tradition took as its foundation drawing the human body from life in order to gain a clear understanding of human anatomy, and from casts of classical sculpture in order to grasp what was deemed to be the ‘ideal’ body.

In Japan, studying the human body in this way did not form the foundation for the training of artists. Anatomical exactitude was not at the forefront of Japanese artists’ concerns. Further, ‘The Nude’ as a subject did not exist for them. By ‘The Nude’ I mean European artists’ idealised representations of the unclothed human body. These nudes might be presented as figures from the Bible or classical mythology or as personifications of abstract qualities. In Japanese art of the Edo period we may find ‘nudity’ but never ‘The Nude’.

The Illustrated Book in the Edo Period

Before moving on to consider representations of the unclothed body in Japanese illustrated books, we should consider, by way of background, the books themselves. The production and sale of books—with and without illustrations—was big business in Japan in the Edo period. These books were printed from woodblocks into which text and images were cut in reverse relief. Use of relief woodblocks made possible the close integration of image and text. From the mid-seventeenth century publishers exploited this capacity to produce numerous, relatively inexpensive illustrated books that were eagerly purchased by a wide audience. By the 1760s, printing in a full range of colours from separately cut colour blocks became a regular, though by no means ubiquitous, feature of publishing.

¹ Sze (1977), pp. 250-251.

Demand for books was there and publishers proved adept not only at meeting it but encouraging its further growth.

An outstanding feature of printed book illustration in Japan in the Edo period was that most of it was the work of artists, not of artisans. In China, where there was also a highly sophisticated, large-scale publishing industry, illustrations in popular books remained almost exclusively the work of artisans and they were rarely signed. In Europe after the introduction of printing, book illustrators were considered inferior in status to artists who produced paintings. The situation in Japan was quite different. There, leading artists produced designs specifically for books and proudly signed the colophon page. Often the artist's name was regarded as a selling point; illustrated books that incorporate the artist's name into their titles were not uncommon.

Illustrations in Edo-period Japanese books were never 'ornamental' as they so often were in the West. In them we do not encounter elaborate title pages, chapter headers, initial letters or tailpieces, all of which were so important in European book decoration in this period.

There are four major categories of Edo illustrated woodblock-printed books: **poetry anthologies**, which were usually privately commissioned by poetry circles; **painting manuals**, which presented the painting style of a particular artist, usually carried his name in the title and were almost always commercial publications; **books of images without any didactic function** that were meant to be enjoyed for the sake of the images alone and were invariably commercial publications; and finally, **illustrated fiction**. In some illustrated fiction, text and image were given equal weight and were closely intertwined on each page. The images in all four of these categories of books did not reproduce pre-existing paintings; they were designed specifically for reproduction through woodblock printing and only exist as book illustrations.

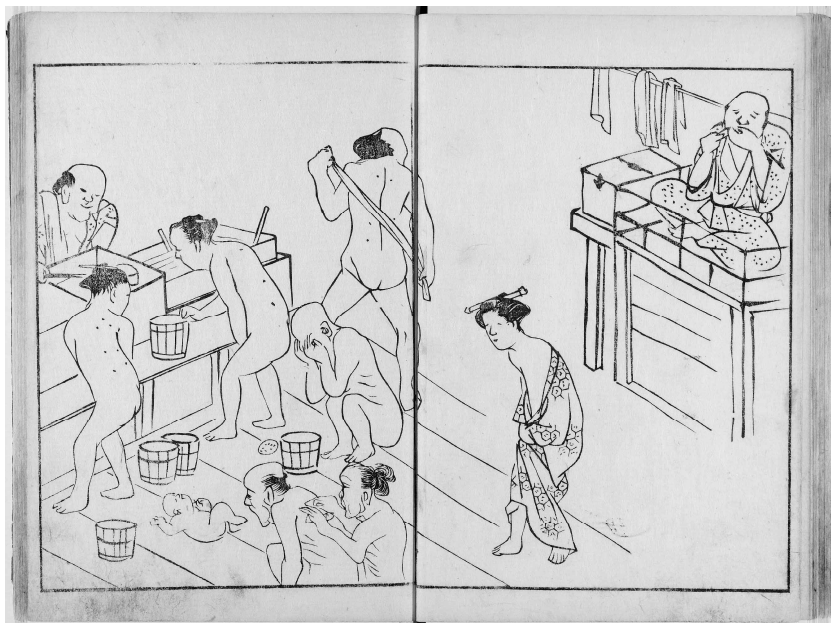
Profusely illustrated, printed erotica formed an important sub-category of illustrated fiction. The government repeatedly issued orders banning such works but rarely expended much energy in enforcing them. Officials were far more concerned with preventing the publication of any text or image that might be seen as subversive to the established political order. As a result, erotic books illustrated by leading artists of the Ukiyo-e (浮世絵) school were produced and widely distributed through most of the Edo period. They were even available for a small fee from lending libraries.

Nudity in Japanese Books

Public nudity was part of daily life in Edo Japan, the nudity encountered in communal bathhouses. These bathhouses, in which mixed bathing was

the norm, served as important local social venues. Representations of them are encountered in a remarkable category of Edo books, *jinbutsu gafu* 人物画譜, which consist entirely of scenes from daily life without any accompanying text. This genre was particularly popular with artists of the Kyoto based Maruyama-Shijō 円山四条 school between 1800 and 1830.

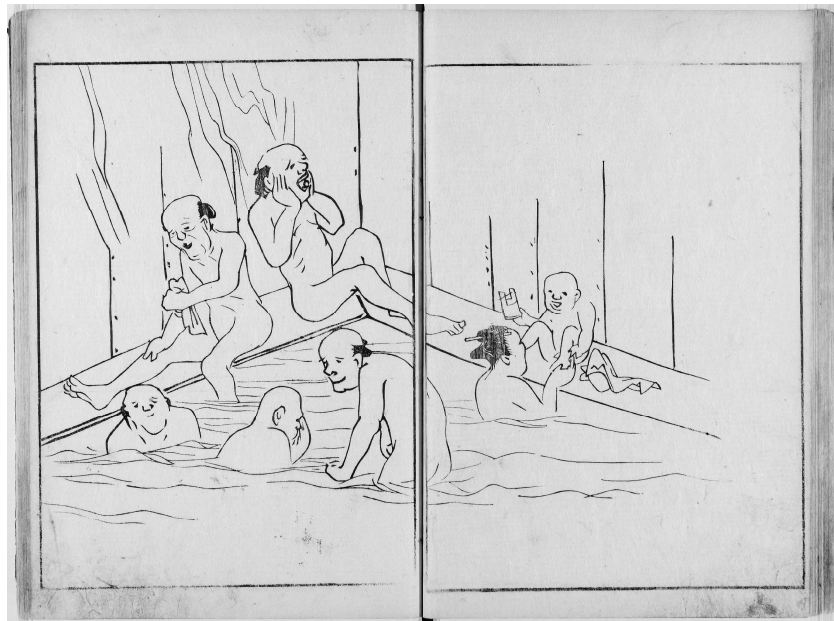
Figure 1: Bathhouse scene (1)



SOURCE: *Yamato jinbutsu gafu* 倭人物画譜 (Picture Book of the People of Japan), illustrated by Yamaguchi Soken 山口素絢, vol. 2, Kyoto, 1800, pp. 5b/6a. Woodblock printed book, printed in line only. Private Collection. Image courtesy of the Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University, Rare Book Database. Database object number: EbiBK0559.

NOTE: The dots on the backs of some of the figures are not printing flaws or graffiti; they represent moxa scars.

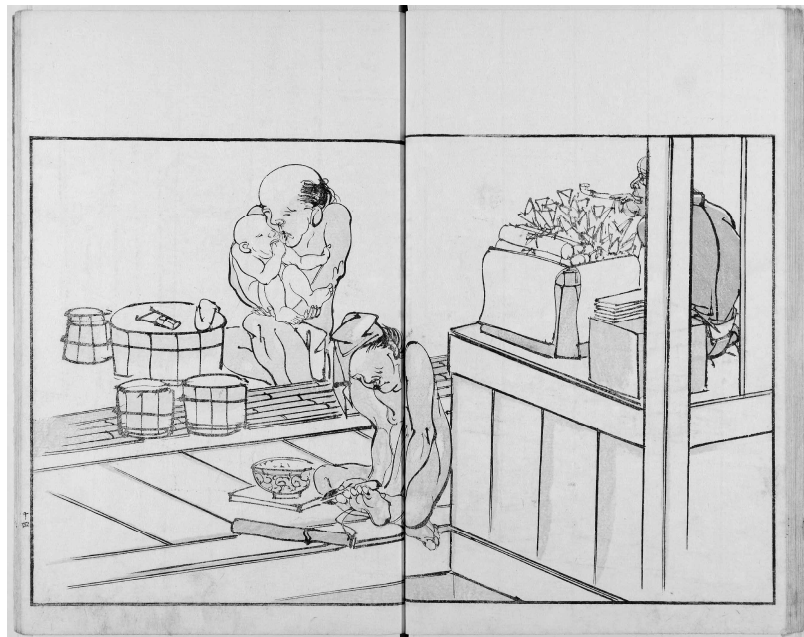
Figure 2: Bathhouse scene (2)



SOURCE: *Yamato jinbutsu gafu* 倭人物画譜 (Picture Book of the People of Japan), illustrated by Yamaguchi Soken 山口素絢, vol. 2, Kyoto, 1800, pp. 6b/7a. Woodblock printed book, printed in line only. Private Collection. Image courtesy of Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University, Rare Book Database. Database object number: EbiBK0559.

The first two bathhouse scenes reproduced here (Figs. 1 & 2) come from *Yamato jinbutsu gafu* 倭人物画譜 (Picture Book of the People of Japan; 1800), illustrated by the Kyoto artist Yamaguchi Soken 山口素絢 (1759-1818). We see men, women and children mingling unselfconsciously in the washing area and the hot tub. The domesticity of the public bathhouse is revealed in an illustration by the Edo-based artist Ōnishi Chin'en 大西椿年 that appears in his *Azuma no teburi* あづまの手ぶり (Customs of the Eastern Capital; 1829) (Fig. 3).

Figure 3: Bathhouse scene (3)



SOURCE: *Azuma no teburi* あづまの手ぶり (Customs of the Easter Capital), illustrated by Ōnishi Chinnen 大西椿年, Edo, 1829, pp.13b/14a. Woodblock printed book, printed in line with light colours. Private Collection. Image courtesy of the Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University, Rare Book Database. Database object number: EbiBK0391.

In each of these three images, the viewer is placed within the scene, a scene that will have formed part of his or her daily life.

In these illustrations the bodies of the men and the women are virtually indistinguishable. With the genitalia hidden and no emphasis on women's breasts, little more than the hairstyles distinguish the men from the women.

When artists of the Ukiyo-e 浮世絵 school turned their hand to bathhouse scenes, the temperature rises as we see in this diptych by Torii Kiyonaga 鳥居清長 (1752-1815) from the mid 1780s (Fig. 4).

Figure 4: Bathhouse scene (4)



SOURCE: [Women bathing], designed by Torii Kiyonaga 鳥居清長, Ōban colour woodblock diptych, Edo, c. 1785. Private Collection.

In this design, the viewer of the print, who is presumed to be a man, is no longer part of the scene. He stands outside it and looks in; he is a voyeur. The artist invites the viewer to identify with the voyeur present in the upper left corner of the composition. There is a strong erotic charge in this scene that is lacking in the previous images. All of Kiyonaga's figures are women with the exception of the voyeur and the privileged boy child. The women are all young and possessed of the contemporary attributes of sexual desirability. In addition, the artist provides a fleeting glimpse of the pubic hair of two of the women.

This 'dangerous picture' (*abuna-e* 危な絵) hardly prepares us for the treatment of bathhouse scenes in the erotic books designed by Ukiyo-e artists. What is hinted at in their prints is made explicit in their books. No detail is left to the imagination. Typical of the bathhouse scenes encountered in these books is the example reproduced here (Fig. 5).

Figure 5: Bathhouse scene (5) with voyeur on the following page



SOURCE: *Ôyogari no koe*, 逢夜鴈之聲, illustrated by Utagawa Toyokuni I 初代歌川豊国, vol. 1, Edo, 1822, pp. 8b/9a and 9b. Woodblock printed book, printed in line with colour. Private Collection. Image courtesy of the Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University, Rare Book Database. Database object number: EbiBK0658.

NOTE: The titles of many Japanese books, and particularly erotic books such as this one, defy concise translation into English.

It comes from a three-volume, colour printed erotic book designed by Utagawa Toyokuni I 初代歌川豊国 (1769-1825). In startling contrast to the previous images, not only are the female genitalia visible, they are exaggerated and gratuitously displayed in an aroused state. When we turn the page, we discover a masturbating voyeur. In such images the bathing women have been transformed from something commonplace and devoid of erotic interest into objects for the voyeur's lustful gaze. This was achieved not by any difference in the way in which the body *per se* was depicted but rather by emphasis on the genitalia.

Depicting the Body

The 'gender-imprecise' bodies we encountered in the *jinbutsu gafu* were the norm in erotica as well. In most cases it is just hairstyles and genitalia that distinguish the bodies of the men from the bodies of the women in Japanese erotic illustrations. No effort is made to distinguish the legs and

feet, the arms and the hands of the man from those of the woman. In many cases it is even difficult to determine the gender of the faces (Fig. 6).

Figure 6: Lovers in summer



SOURCE: *Ehon Fuji no yuki* 艶本 富士のゆき, illustrated by Keisai Eisen 溪斎英泉, vol. 1, Edo, 1824, pp. 9b/10a. Woodblock printed book, printed in line with colour. Private Collection. Image courtesy of the Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University, Rare Book Database. Database object number: EbiBK0623.

NOTE: The titles of many Japanese books, and particularly erotic books such as this one, defy concise translation into English.

The bodies in these books are simply described by outlines—no attempt is made to suggest contours. As Timon Screech has observed, Japanese artists “dismiss the possibility of skin”.² There is no nuance of form, nothing to tempt the viewer to want to touch, to caress. The figures are flat, completely lacking in depth, completely devoid of shading or shadows.

² Screech (2009), p. 109.

Japanese artists did not set themselves the challenge, so central in Western art, of seeking to render the contours and textures of the human form, of seeking to imply the underlying anatomical structures.

The polymath Morishima Chūryō 森島中良 (1754-1810) published a popular anthology on Western matters under the title of *Kōmō zatsu-wa* 紅毛雑話 (Miscellany about Foreigners [literally 'the Red-haired ones']; Edo, 1787). He included a section on art in Europe based on Gérard de Lairese's *Het Groot Schilderboek* (known in English as *The Great Book of Painting*), which was first published in Amsterdam in 1707. He explained that Western art was based on learning to draw the human body, with emphasis on the fundamental differences between male and female. He wrote:

European pictures are created thus: when someone is learning to make them, first they consider the skeletal structure of the male and female, then they practice drawing naked bodies, and finally they put clothes on top of this and produce a complete picture.³

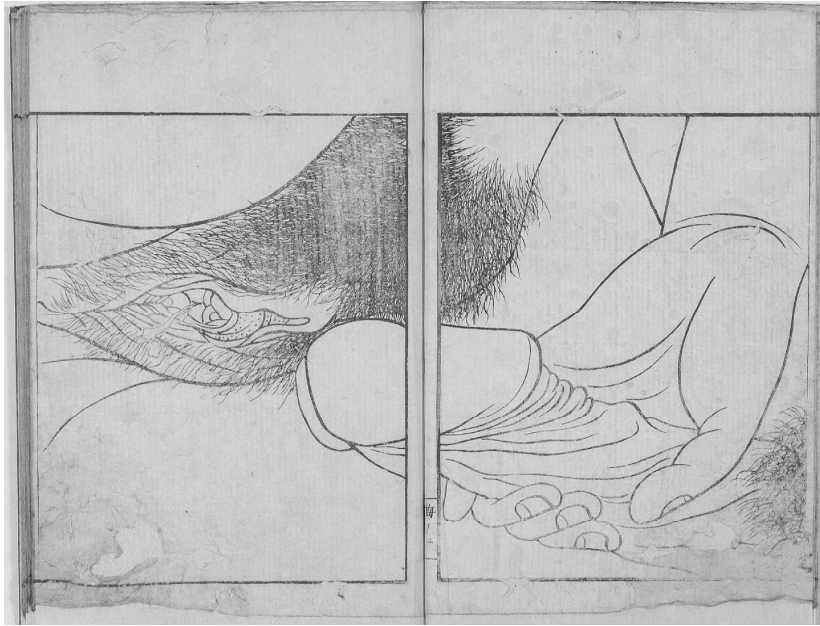
Chūryō omitted mentioning in his account that in Europe, the naked body could be an artistic end in itself. At that time, 'The Nude' was the second most highly regarded Western genre after history painting. In Japan no effort was made to represent the body for its own sake, to suggest flesh, to differentiate the contours of man's body from those of the woman's body.

The body *per se* did not carry the same erotic charge in Japanese art that it carried in European art. Timon Screech suggests that because so much erotic power was inherent in the whole of the body as depicted by Western artists, they underplayed the genitals. In Japan, the reverse was true. Because there is "not much else of a bodily kind" for Japanese artists to dwell upon, they magnified the genitals and rendered them in meticulous detail in order to hold the viewer's gaze.⁴ Indeed, in some erotic images, the body is almost entirely disposed of (Fig. 7).

³ Quoted in Screech (2009), pp. 105-106.

⁴ Screech (2009), p. 112.

Figure 7: 'Close-up' in an erotic book



SOURCE: Title missing, artist unidentified, 'Plum' (梅) volume, Osaka (?), c. 1780, pp. 3b/4a. Private Collection. Image courtesy of the Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University, Rare Book Database. Database object number: EbiBK0735.

NOTE: Just one copy of one volume of this three-volume book is known. In this book double-page illustrations of couples shown in full-figure making love (without their genitalia being fully visible) alternate with double-page illustrations such as this one that reveal the state of their genitalia in the moment presented in the previous illustration. This format appears to be unique to this book.

Detailed, pseudo-scientific depictions of male and female genitalia are also encountered in Edo publications. *Makura bunko* 枕文庫 (Erotic Library; Edo, 1822), an encyclopaedic survey of sex, for example, contains a section that ranks male and female genitalia. Such surveys reflect the passion for listing, ranking and classifying that persisted throughout the Edo period. Publishers thrived by feeding that passion with guides to cities, provinces and temples, directories of the nobility, and annual rank-

ings of restaurants, artists, craftsmen, actors and sex workers.⁵ Marginal notes explain that the images in *Makura bunko* were based on a publication of the late seventeenth century. Annotations indicate the length, relative proportions and girth of each category of penis: superior, middling, inferior and truly awesome. The characteristics of each category of the female pudenda are also carefully described, from the newly opened to the well used.

Returning to Nature

Under the influence of both Chinese and Western painting practice, some Edo-period Japanese artists advocated a return to nature (*shasei* 写生) for inspiration rather than simply learning by copying the works of past masters. Perhaps the most important advocate of this approach was Maruyama Ōkyo 円山応挙 (1733-1795), a Kyoto artist who was active in the last half of the eighteenth century. We find him urging, in terms that indicate his familiarity with Western practice as described by Chūryō, that the artist first draw a naked body and then clothe it.

A striking, if misconceived, attempt to apply Ōkyo's injunction appears in a small book published in 1817 that teaches amateurs how to draw Kabuki actors. The artist was Toyokuni I 初代歌川豊国, the book, *Yakusha nigao haya-geiko* 役者似顔早稽古 (Quick Lessons in Actor Likenesses) (Fig. 8).

⁵ See Berry (2006) for a detailed examination of this vigorous print culture.

Figure 8: Drawing a kabuki actor



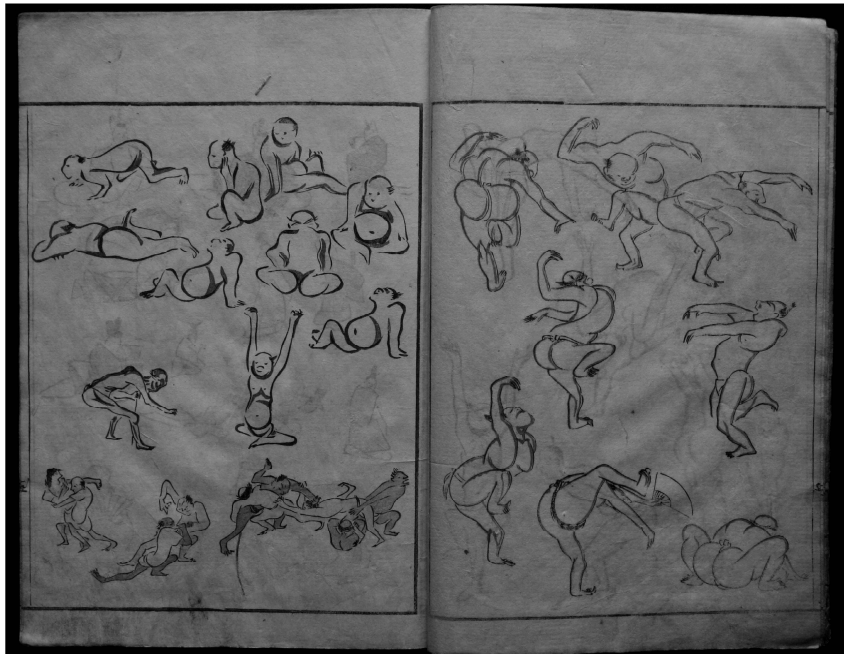
SOURCE: *Yakusha nigao hayageiko* 役者似顔早稽古 (Quick Lessons in Actor Likenesses), illustrated by Toyokuni I 初代歌川豊国, Edo, 1817, pp. 6b/7a. Woodblock printed book, printed in line with addition grey blocks. Hayashi Collection. Image courtesy of the Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University, Rare Book Database. Database object number: hay03-0802.

This is not 'joined-up' figure drawing. Toyokuni was, at the time of the publication of this book, the most important designer of actor prints in Edo. It is striking that he does not consider it necessary to draw the entire body. In particular, he makes no attempt to join the legs to the torso. The mechanical application of this approach, without a grounding in life drawing, leads to some peculiar results in Ukiyo-e actor prints: it sometimes appears that heads and limbs have simply been stuck into bundles of fabric.

In *Kômô zatsu-wa* Morishima Chûryō reproduced examples of male and female figures set against a ruled ground to illustrate what European artists regarded as the ideal proportions for the human body. Kitao Masayoshi 北尾政義 (1764-1824), an Edo-based artist, began one of his printed drawing manuals with a variant of Chûryō's ruled figures. How-

ever, when we turn the page, we find a quite different type of figure drawing than the grid figure would have led us to expect (Fig. 9).

Figure 9: Figure studies



SOURCE: *Ryakugashiki* 略画式 (Quick-drawing Method), illustrated by Kitao Masayoshi 北尾政義, Edo, 1799, pp. 4b/5a. Woodblock printed book, printed in line and light colours. Private Collection.

Note the fluidity of Masayoshi's figures, the calligraphic quality of the lines with which he depicts them. They may not be anatomically exact but they are full of life, they offer a very convincing evocation of movement. As we look at illustrated books by Masayoshi's contemporaries, we find a similar animation in the figures, as in this rendering of youths swimming in a river in a book by the Kyoto artist Nishimura Nantei 西村楠亭 (1755-1834) (Fig. 10).

Figure 10: Boys swimming

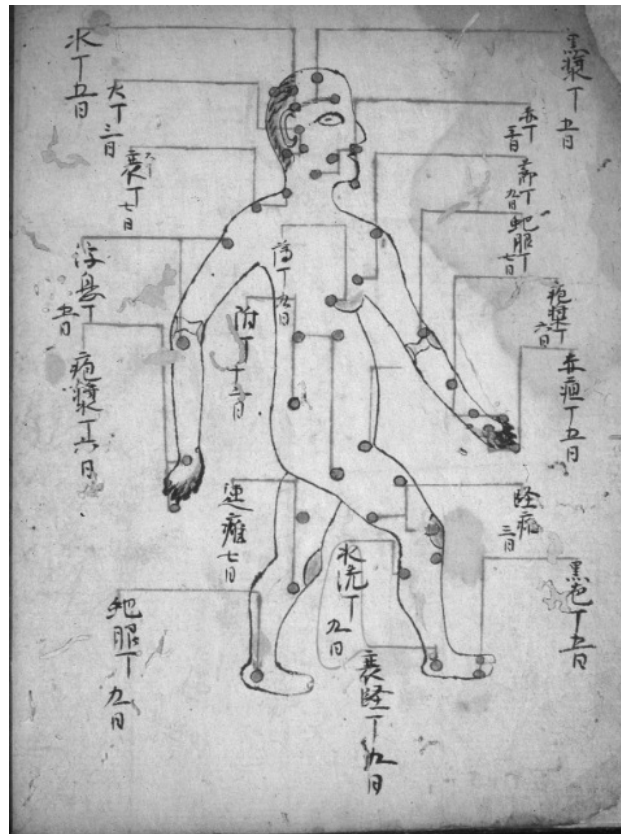


SOURCE: *Nantei gafu* 楠亭画譜 (Nantei's Picture Book), illustrated by Nishimura Nantei 西村 楠亭, vol. 1, Edo, 1817, pp. 9b/10a. Woodblock printed book, printed in line only. Private Collection. Image courtesy of the Art Research Center, Ritsumeikan University, Rare Book Database. Database object number: EbiBK0679.

These images suggest that these artists, all of whom worked under the influence of Ōkyo, did observe, did sketch from life, but they did not seek to create modelled renderings of the human form. Nor did they concern themselves with achieving a thorough grasp of the underlying skeletal and muscular structures of the body. They trusted the flow of their brush to evoke a living figure.

Traditional Sino-Japanese medical texts relied on schematic renderings of the human body. A typical example is this chart (Fig. 11) from a Japanese medical manuscript dated 1574.

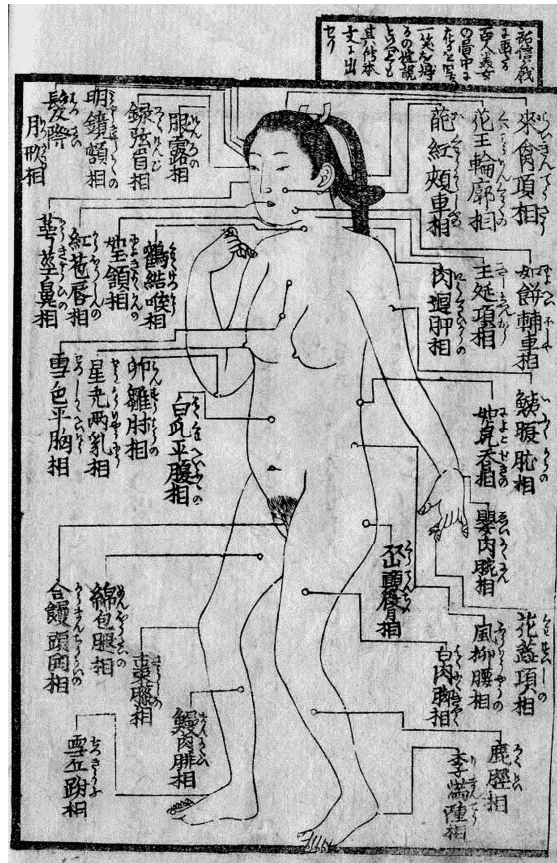
Figure 11: Anatomical chart



SOURCE: *Haremono no zu 腫れ物の図* (Charts of Tumours). Anonymous Japanese manuscript, dated 1574. Courtesy of the U.S. National Library of Medicine.

The 'chart' of a woman reproduced here is very similar to it in formal terms (Fig. 12).

Figure 12: Attributes of the ideal woman



SOURCE: *Makura bunko, ni hen* 枕文庫、二編 (Erotic Library, Part Two), illustrations by Keisai Eisen 溪斎英泉, Edo, 1823, p. 10b. Woodblock printed book, printed in line only. Private Collection.

But the information provided by the latter is neither medical nor anatomical. It presents the perfect woman to the would-be connoisseur. The perfect woman's thirty-two distinguishing physical characteristics are meticulously identified in this diagrammatic image. Among them we have: a hair-line across the brow that is like the shape of the moon; a brow that is a clear mirror; eyebrows that are brilliant crescent moons; eyes that are moist like the dew; lips that are like a present wrapped in

red paper; breasts that are flat and as white as snow; a belly that is flat and smooth; pudenda that are like a steamed white bun; hips that are like a willow tree blown by a storm; heels that are like a round red plum; and so forth. Enumerating thirty-two distinguishing physical characteristics would have immediately reminded contemporaries of the thirty-two distinguishing marks of the Buddha. What we have here is an irreverent parody, an image that is at once both comic and titillating in intent.

Rejecting Scientific Anatomy

By the eighteenth century some Japanese scholars were aware of Western medicine and Western illustrated anatomical texts. They even produced their own printed editions of the latter. The most famous of these books is Sugita Genpaku's 杉田玄白 *Kaitai shinsho* 解体新書 (New Anatomy), which was published in Edo in 1774. It is based for the most part on the Dutch edition of the German surgeon Johan Adam Kalmus's *Anatomical Tables*. Genpaku and his fellow scholars of 'Dutch learning', as European studies were referred to at the time, were impressed by the accuracy of Kalmus's illustrations when compared with the corpse of an executed criminal the authorities had permitted them to dissect. Wishing to make European anatomy more widely known in Japan, Genpaku produced a Japanese edition of Kalmus. The European engravings were very skilfully translated into woodblock printed images in this book.⁶

These anatomical images circulated within Japan, but it is difficult to discern their direct impact on depictions of the human body by Japanese artists. I know of one explicit visual reference to *Kaitai shinsho* in a popular printed work. It appears in the frontispiece of a novel that was published in 1806 with illustrations by the Ukiyo-e artist Toyokuni I. The frontispiece presents an image of a standing woman. The cartouche above the image identifies it as 'Picture of the smelly skin sack'. The image of the woman is printed on a sheet of paper that has been pasted onto the page in such a way that it can be lifted and folded back to reveal a skeleton printed onto the page below. This skeleton derives directly from *Kaitai shinsho*. However, it is not the skeleton of a mature woman, it is the skeleton of a child. The proportions of the skeleton do not match those of the woman. The artist was not concerned with anatomical exactitude.

⁶ The entire *Kaitai shinsho* is available on the U.S. National Medical Library website, see: http://www.nlm.nih.gov/exhibition/historicalanatomies/kulmus_home.html.

Anatomical approximation remained the norm for Japanese artists throughout the Edo period. This takes us back to the advice found in *The Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting*:

Figures should be drawn well and with style though not in too great detail. ... Figures even though painted without eyes should seem to look; without ears must seem to listen. This should be indicated by one or two touches of the brush. Eliminate details to achieve the most natural expression and the effect will be the most natural. Actually there are things that ten hundred brush-strokes cannot depict but which can be captured by a few simple strokes if they are right. That is truly giving expression to the invisible.⁷

Japanese and Western artists both sought to “give expression to the invisible.” But the ‘invisible’ each pursued was quite different. Western artists sought to represent the ‘invisible’ inner structures of the body through their detailed rendering of the surface of the human form. Such anatomical exactitude was not in the forefront of the concerns of Japanese artists. They wanted to capture the ‘essence’ of the subjects they represented. To achieve this they ignored the surface and relied on spirited outlines.

Artists of the Ukiyo-e school employed a sharp, un-modulated line to delineate schematised, static bodies to which magnified and highly detailed genitalia might be appended. Artists of other schools—such as the Maruyama-Shijō school 円山四条派 inspired by Ōkyo—also limited themselves to rendering the human body through outline drawing but their line and their intention were quite different. They employed a calligraphic line modulated by more or less pressure applied to the brush to create expressive outlines. Their goal was living, active bodies; bodies in motion. I believe that they drew upon nature in a way that Ukiyo-e artists did not. Despite the disinterest of Maruyama-Shijō artists in the underlying skeletal and muscular structures, by drawing from nature they succeeded in imbuing their representations of the human body with life, movement and energy. The results may not have been ‘lifelike’ but they were ‘full of life’.

⁷ Sze (1977), pp. 220 and 250-251.

Postscript

The large-scale transfer to Europe and North America of Edo-period illustrated books occurred between 1880 and 1930. These were the very decades in which Western artists were breaking away from the stranglehold of the academy with its prescriptive approach to representation. Artists and connoisseurs in Paris and London and New York—who were in the forefront of this artistic revolution—were among the most avid collectors of these Japanese books. The images in these books had a significant, if unquantifiable, impact on their ways of seeing and expressing themselves.

References

Digital resources:

Ritsumeikan University Art Research Center Rare Book Database (立命館大学アート・リサーチセンター特別図書データベース) http://www.arc.ritsumei.ac.jp/dbroot/search_top.html.

Secondary works cited in the text:

Berry, Mary Elisabeth (2006). *Japan in Print: Information and the Nation in the Early Modern Period*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Screech, Timon (2009). *Sex and the Floating World: Erotic Images in Japan, 1700-1820*. Second edition. London: Reaktion Books.

Sze Mai-mai (1977). *The Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting: Chieh Tzū Yüan hua chuan, 1679-1701*. Translated and edited by Sze Mai-mai. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Further reading about Edo-period illustrated books:

Hillier, Jack (1987) *The Art of the Japanese Book*. London: Sotheby's Publications.

Keyes, Roger (2006). *Ehon: The Artist and the Book in Japan*. New York: New York Public Library in association with the University of Washington Press.

Kornicki, Peter (1998). *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century*. Leiden: Brill.